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TO THE EDITOR OF THE LIVERPOOL S

SIR,—I am very much gratified by your humble efforts to awaken the mechanics of to a sense of the *fatal blow* about to be struck by Sir Robert Peel's measure.

Even the cotton trade will, I sincerely be-
lieve, be injured from the first, although, as the *employ-*
trade at Manchester is chiefly to machine-
children, the consequences of failure or dep-
ression will not be so fearful or *heartbreaking* as
from want of employment for the MEN, the
men of Birmingham, Sheffield, Glasgow, &c.

I have no direct interest in agriculture or in this country or in Canada, and, as I do not visit that colony, I may, perhaps, be permitted to leave the imputation of what Mr. Cobden calls *color blindness*.

My interest, as a shipper of British goods, identical with that of the maker of these goods, manufacture is *beaten out of Canada*, (either by the free trade policy, or by the tariff on foreign reign goods, while it remains a colony, or by the tariff, after it shall have become a State), and I am *extinguished*.

Now as free trade in England means also the colony *with all the world*, and as the extensive duties in the Canadian frontier in favour of manufactures is what alone prevents Canada from her cotton and coarse woollen fabrics, law &c. from America, and many other manufacturing productions of continental countries, including other German hardware, it follows that, as most must either be driven by Sir Robert Peel's measures in America, Germany, &c., or be driven out

The latter is the alternative which, as an individual, I adopt, because the moment that I see free trade introduced into the mother country I shall see danger to our liberty, before very long, in reserve for Canada her independence, (which I have no confidence the sense of England would allow to be brought away, although no man could show any, that *interest* British America will have in continued union with this country, but quite the reverse, after our protective system is broken down.)

When Canada is lost to England we shall for our timber in gold, (instead of manufactures, present,) just as we now pay for three-fourths cotton from the United States; but who can assure us that if we have no gold, we could always get a supply from foreign countries!

It is now well ascertained that the Baltic alone furnish the supply now required, say two loads, (although we were always at peace continental powers,) so that we must depend America for a large share of the timber wanted.

But Sir Robert Peel forgets that, in 1809 the mind of England *was* convulsed on the subject

The enmity of the governments of the Baltic supply, and the price rose from £5 to £16 10s.

Robert Peel's free-trade course, the *statesmen* raised the protection to colonies from 50 to 55, 4d. per ton, and gradually British lumber entered, through the erection of immense paper-milling establishments, at a vast outlay of capital in Canada and New Brunswick, and in sufficient quantity to regulate the trade (say two-thirds the whole). The price was thus permanently lowered as ever it was when the entire supply was paying only a duty of 10s. 11d. per load; before *England's accession* drove her to raise up a *barrier to British labour*, in the forests of Britain that great national interest which is now being sacrificed by our adoption of the anti-British policy of free-trade.

The effect of free-trade and its consequent currency, &c.) on Manchester, Birmingham & Glasgow, &c., will be **UTTER RUIN** to tens of thousands of the most deserving and hard-worked of the world, which I view as *a far more serious* consequence than the loss to the British empire, as to the *American republic*, of three thousand six hundred and sixty thousand sailors.

The free-trader may tell us that gold does not flow to America, but he is too intelligent not to know that it flows to the Continent to pay for luxuries sent to America, *for which America cannot pay by any other means* than through drafts on England, or *for*

America draws these drafts on us to more than as great an amount as we send her goods, so that

THE LOSS OF THE COLONIES OF ENGLAND.

FROM THE LIVERPOOL STANDARD OF MARCH 24TH, 1846.

THE EDITOR OF THE LIVERPOOL STANDARD.

Sir,—I am very much gratified by your notice of my efforts to awaken the mechanics of this country to the fatal blow about to be struck at their very existence by Sir Robert Peel's measure.

When the cotton trade will, I sincerely believe, be injured from the first, although, as the employment in that at Manchester is chiefly to machines, girls, and women, the consequences of failure or depression in it will not be so fearful or heartbreaking as would flow from the loss of employment for the men, the hardworking of Birmingham, Sheffield, Glasgow, &c.

I have no direct interest in agriculture or timber, either in this country or in Canada, and, as I do not return to the colonies, I may, perhaps, be permitted to escape from the imputation of what Mr. Cobden calls COLONIAL SELFISHNESS.

As interest, as a shipper of British goods, is, in fact, connected with that of the maker of these goods; for if his failure is beaten out of Canada, (either through foreign goods, while it remains a colony, or by American goods, after it shall have become a State of the Union,) my trade as an importer of British goods is also ruined.

As free trade in England means also free trade in the colonies with all the world, and as the extra or protective duties in the Canadian frontier in favour of English manufactures is what alone prevents Canada now receiving cotton and coarse woollen fabrics, loaf sugar, &c. from America, and many other manufactures and productions of continental countries, including cutlery and German hardware, it follows that, as merchants, we are either to be driven by Sir Robert Peel's measure to buy cutlery, Germany, &c., or to be driven out of the trade. The latter is the alternative which, as an individual, I shall choose, because the moment that I see free trade introduced to my mother country I shall see danger to life and property before very long, in reserve for Canada in achieving independence, (which I have no confidence that the good of England would allow to be brought about peacefully, although no man could show any, the slightest of British America will have in continued connection with this country, but quite the reverse, after the colonial protective system is broken down.)

When Canada is lost to England we shall have to pay for timber in gold, (instead of manufactures as at present,) just as we now pay for three-fourths of our raw cotton from the United States; but who can assure us that, in such a case, we could always get a supply of timber from foreign countries!

I now well ascertained that the Baltic alone could not supply the now required, say two millions of (although we were always at peace with these central powers,) so that we must depend on North America for a large share of the timber wanted in England. Sir Robert Peel forgets that, in 1809, the public of England was convulsed on the subject of timber. The enemy of the governments of the Baltic cut off our supply, and the price rose from £5 to £16 10s. per load. A demand was called, but instead of following Sir Robert Peel's free-trade course, the statesmen of that day gave the protection to colonial timber from 20s. 9d. to 30s. per load, and gradually British timber was pre-empted through the erection of immense saw-mills and lumbering establishments, at a vast outlay of British in Canada and New Brunswick, and imported in great quantity to regulate the trade (say two-thirds of the whole). The price was thus permanently reduced, as ever it was when the entire supply was foreign, only a duty of 10s. 11d. per load! before the day of the necessity drove her to raise up, by protective British labour, in the forests of British America, the great national interest which is now being given to Americans by our adoption of the anti-British theory of trade.

The effect of free-trade and its consequences (on the way, &c.) on Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, &c., will be utter ruin to tens of thousands of the most deserving and hard-working men in the world, which I view as a far more serious consequence than the loss to the British empire, and the gain to the American republic, of three thousand ships and thousands of sailors.

Free-trade may tell us that gold does not go to the colonies, but he is too intelligent not to know that it goes to the Continent to pay for luxuries sent to America, and which America cannot pay by any other possible means than through drafts on England, or English gold. The price draws these drafts on us to more than double the amount as we send her goods, so that there is

at least two-thirds the nominal amount of the American trade, which yields no employment or profit to the English artisan.

If, through the loss of Canada and the West Indies, two other great staples, timber and sugar, were put in this position, there would be no safety (even as a matter of simple existence) for our over supply of English artisans, but in their transferring themselves to the United States, to get under shelter of the protection of the American tariff.

It is my sincere belief, that time is all that is required to show that FREE-TRADE IS SUICIDE ON THE PART OF BRITISH ARTIZANS, and that by not preferring a moderate protection to out and out free-trade, the liberal party will become very unpopular in this country.

There is no man on either side of party politics who understands the practical interests of the empire better than Sir Howard Douglas, and no one expresses them so well. In his speech on the late debate, Sir Howard Douglas explains the true policy of England:—

"The whole amount of manufactures exported to India does not at present exceed £25,000,000; in 1844, £27,000,000, including Ceylon. If we were to encourage, as we might, the natural productions of British India, to enable her the better to pay for British goods, there is scarcely any assignable limit to the increase of that vast market of consumption for the productions of British industry; the demand for British cotton goods in particular, if the population took out at the rate of 100 per head, would amount to £50,000,000 sterling; and the demand for woollens, silks, pottery, glass, plated wares, cutlery, iron, brass, and copper implements, and an infinity of articles for domestic use, would be prodigiously increased."

Let us take Sir Howard Douglas's advice, and endeavour to give employment to British subjects instead of foreigners. Let us reorganise the Colonial system (which is the cause of England's greatness) on the principle of moderate protection.

Let us prefer to produce our cotton, sugar, timber, &c. from the labour of British subjects, who have British habits, and consume British manufactures entirely, rather than from the degraded labour of the American slave; and then our demand will be for manufactures and not for gold, the national currency will get out of its present feverish and excited state, which gives no dependence to the manufacturer, and keeps the labouring class always within a few weeks of absolute want.

At present it is no matter how good and certain a merchant's prospects are of disposing of goods, he cannot buy them if the British money market is deranged, or, in other words, if specie (the groundwork on which I built all confidence and credit*) is being exported to foreign countries, or beyond the limit of the home and Colonial trade.

Even the comparatively slight trial we have had of the fruits of our highly-weighted artisan being run against the unburdened foreigner, has been what I call ruinous both to the minds and bodies of the people.

The aggregate capital in England, 'tis true, has been increased, but it has found its way into the hands of the money-lenders, with whom the manufacturer now shares his profit, and none of it has remained in the pockets of the working classes, who, in fact, are getting more and more crushed in their circumstances and degraded in their moral and intellectual condition. Rather than buy our pre-eminence in commerce at so dear a price as the distress of the working classes and a continuance of over production, let us, by a parliamentary grant of the public money, (a million pounds a year, if that were necessary), in support of SCHOOLS OF EXPERIMENT, (with their travellers and ramifications all over the world,) make, and educate the people in those advances in manufacturing science and knowledge, which are found necessary to keep us first among the nations.

Rather than not have a radical change in our systems, and to enable it to be attempted safely, I would support the minister in laying on an income tax for three years, of twenty per cent. for the first year, 15 per cent. for the second year, and ten per cent. for the third year, to enable him to construct an immense system of emigration to the colonies, as well as to push forward our colonial cotton and other productions, and to ameliorate in every possible way the condition of the industrious classes in the manufacturing districts and Ireland.

There never was before so glorious an opportunity as the present for this country to return to homely and sound principles, and there may never be again.

The effect of the construction of railways on the LABOUR MARKET is such that (independent of Sir Robert Peel and the political economists) every man, woman, and child can get employment and high wages, and that at a time when there is scarcely one article of manufacture for

which there is one-half the demand usually experienced at this season of the year.

But the construction of railways, like foreign trade, is at best but a temporary employment for a population, and if GREAT NATIONAL means be not now taken to provide permanent outlets both for the people and their labour, it is easy to foresee that wretchedness and distress among all classes of the community, will by-and-by be greater, more severe, and more lasting (so overwhelming now is the increase of our population) than we have ever before experienced in the worst times; nor will it matter whether nominally the colonial system or the theory of free trade is in operation.

The agricultural interest of this country was at a certain disadvantage in fighting the battle of protection as a matter of merely agricultural selfishness; but they will be sure to triumph at a general election if they ask for a five shillings' protection to British and Colonial corn as the ONLY CONDITION ON WHICH THE COLONIES CAN BE RETAINED, AND, AS A CONSEQUENCE, OUR NAVAL POWER SUPPORTED, coupled with their defence of the British artisan from the cruel competition of the foreigner, with which Sir Robert Peel's bill threatens him, the foreigner having the run of the British markets for his surplus labour or sweepings (which can afford to be sacrificed), while the British weaver and mechanic is excluded from the foreign market.

A truly British party, now starting up under whatever name, will get the support of the working classes, who are tired of the present "SYSTEMS OF MEN" (as they get tired of quack doctors and their specifics), if that party (kindly descending from the distance and coldness of abstract theories, or, in other words, of mere political economy) will pass a NINE OR TEN HOURS' BILL, and by parliamentary grant will provide intellectual employment, with the means of health and recreation for the poor in those hours of happiness, which they have been the blessed means of calling into existence.

Let the new government also pledge parliament to give half a million each year to a NATIONAL SYSTEM OF COLONISATION.

Let them so systematic matters that, through the labour of a British colonial population, we will each year be getting more and more cotton, more wheat, more timber, more sugar, more sheeps' wool, and all other necessities, PAYING BRITISH LABOUR FOR THEM, AND NOT BRITISH GOLD, AS AT PRESENT.

And let such a government, rising superior to the petty influences and considerations of the London Land Speculators and Companies, assure every family which, by its own or its friends' exertions, can reach Canada or any other British colony, where there are unoccupied lands belonging to the crown, of their getting without charge, AND AS THEIR PATRIMONY OR BIRTHRIGHT, A LOT OF LAND (200 ACRES), (with the cost of clearing three acres, as a commencement, and a year's provisions till their first crop is got off the ground (to be repaid to government), to such as have only means to take them out, but whose reaching the colony by their own exertions will be sufficient proof of their being the proper parties to emigrate.)

The revenue of Canada is £500,000 (half a million,) and her expenses and interest on her debt are £400,000; nor do I see why any well-managed colony should be a burden on England.

And the simple reform required in colonial management is, that each colony shall have appropriated to it a separate room in Downing-street, and be caused each to have two private Secretaries in future, who should alternately be three years in the colony and three years in London, pushing colonization and the other interests of the colony, and securing for colonists who come to England the consideration due to their rank and influence in their particular colony, until the colonies get represented in the Imperial Parliament.

You may depend that it is not in human nature that the oppressed labouring classes should misconstrue substantial benefits like these, by whatever minister or party offered.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

ISAAC BUCHANAN.

Glasgow, 19th March, 1846.

* It is self-evident that the paper currency to be safe must be small and fluctuating in this country when the bulk of our trade is with foreigners, as they do not take in exchange its manufactures for labour; for commercial confidence (or credit) exists less or more just as there is less or more movement or exportation of the precious metals.

I. B.